

PEACE NEWS

Brotherhood : Non-Violence : Freedom

NON-VIOLENCE AND
SOCIAL PROBLEMS
Special Issue

No. 926

Application for entry as second-class matter at
Boston, Mass., USA, pending.

March 26, 1954

Registered as a newspaper.

FOURPENCE (U.S. Air Express)
Edition: 10 cts.

SEQUEL TO "ANY QUESTIONS" ROW A solution for Kenya

Major Hastings and Fenner Brockway debate it

TO Major Lewis Hastings, Mr. Fenner Brockway is a sincere fanatic, a self-appointed campaigner, a man of incredible gullibility.

This conviction no doubt explains the Major's reference in a recent BBC "Any

Questions" programme to Mr. Brockway's questions in the House of Commons on military discipline in Kenya as "ridiculous and fatuous." It is obviously why the hall was packed when Major Hastings met Mr. Brockway in debate in London.

Major Hastings was concerned with Mr. Brockway's attitude to colonialism, to Kenya, to Mau Mau. Mr. Brockway, the Major contended, showed an utter ignorance of the fundamental causations of Mau Mau—that atrocious thing which could not responsibly be dismissed by the shallow denunciations and slogans employed by Mr. Brockway.

Replying, Mr. Brockway said that Mau Mau was, as he had always described it, a brutal, atavistic practice, ridden with obscenities. It was the result of political frustration. The British had ended the Arab slave trade, stopped tribal wars and introduced health services which had saved lives. But they had also destroyed tribal society with its established loyalties and traditions and had not replaced it satisfactorily.

Why Mau Mau began

Mau Mau was also the result of economic frustration especially land hunger. To the Kenya African, land was life. There was no room for him in his own reserves, and still less in the towns. In Nairobi there was a colour bar which went into the heart of a man. If in the early stages of Mau Mau the British administration had co-operated with those loyal, educated and inspired leaders who themselves deplored Mau Mau, much of the present tragedy could have been averted.

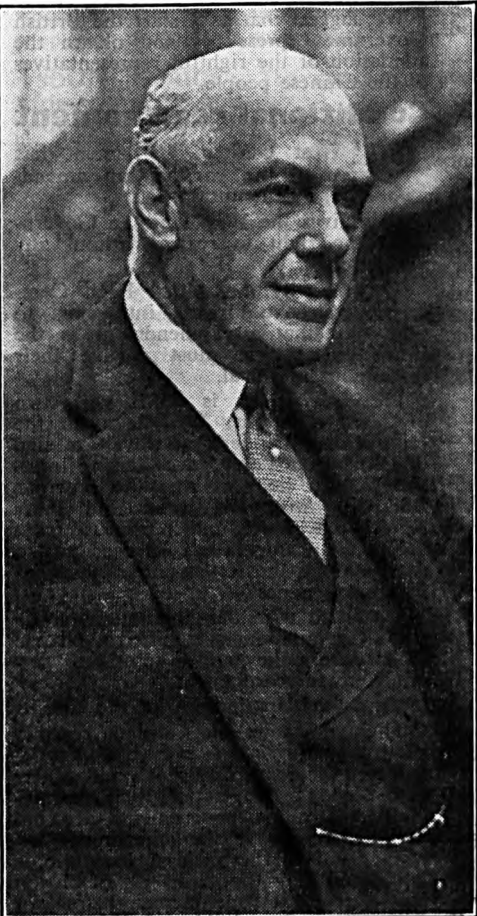
There must be a supreme effort in the future to build up a multi-racial democracy in Africa, concluded Mr. Brockway. Land redistribution, cottage industries, revision of wages were among the most urgently needed reforms to this end.

The debate was under the chairmanship of Mr. Kenneth Bradley.

BBC Appeal for Family Service Units

Margery Fry is to make the appeal in "The Week's Good Cause" on the BBC on Easter Sunday evening in aid of the Family Service Units. See page five.

HE'S SATISFIED



The British Colonial Secretary, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, said on returning from Kenya recently that he was "very well satisfied with the result of my mission and the reception of my plan for a multi-racial government in Kenya."

Critics of the plan said that by weakening the influence of the British Government in Kenya without increasing the political opportunities of the Africans the way was being opened for white dictatorship and a still further decline in African confidence.

The death-roll in Kenya last week was the highest yet, 145 Africans were killed by troops and police.

In Parliament on Monday, Mr. Lyttelton said "about nine months ago, nearly all the incidents were initiated by Mau Mau and the role of our forces was mainly defensive. That has now changed; two incidents out of three are initiated by us."

The Crimean Centenary

By PERCY REDFERN

On March 27 a hundred years ago, Britain entered the Crimean War. The historians, G. M. Trevelyan, H. A. L. Fisher, Bernard Pares, all have had nothing good to say of the participation. But it caused the death of 20,000 British soldiers. Worse still, it helped to poison Anglo-Russian relations.

In 1878, when there was tension again, it was this country which figured at the Berlin Congress of that year as Russia's "principal rival." And it was our own country which through the Congress added Cyprus to Malta and Gibraltar, while Russia's share was to receive orders from Europe to retire.

This century brought the anti-Russian alliance with Japan, the anger against Russia over the "Dogger Bank Incident," and those special fears of the "Russian Bear" which animated Kipling's "Kim." And there are still to be added the interventions in Russia of 1918, "odious to the population."

When we are revolted by Soviet Russia's policies and methods, if we want peace we need to remember and atone for our past contributions to distrust and present fear.

"If we want peace;" for there is now an appalling need of it. There was a hope that even in war atom bombs would rest unused, as poison gas did. Now, that prospect is gone. "Intense atom bombing" has first place on the programme. But people go about as if stupefied. To the ordinary man and woman it all seems too terrible to be real. We have not suffered it as yet.

Can we make peace imperative and mass destruction "unacceptable?"

BILLY GRAHAM

Four questions on peace—and an answer

THE Billy Graham organisation has replied to a series of questions on the Christian attitude to war. Sent by a London churchwoman and Christian pacifist they were:

1. Is it true that Billy Graham has said that he "does not understand Christian pacifism?"
2. Does Dr. Graham agree that the atom bombing of Japan and the napalm bombing of Korea are contrary to the will of God and the mind of Christ?
3. A British preacher has written, "war is a worse form of atheism than any refusal to assent to a creed." What does Billy Graham think of that?
4. Does Dr. Graham not think that before we can have a real religious revival we must all face up to the moral issue raised by war?

The reply received from Mr. Ralph W. Mitchell, LL.D., Spiritual Counsellor of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, says:

"Billy Graham wishes me to thank you for your kind letter of March 15.

"There would be no profit to the beginning of a discussion on the subject you have

mentioned, for we are sure that you hold tenaciously to your view and we hold tenaciously to ours, which is just a little bit different from yours. Yet we do believe that if only men and women would come to Christ and follow His way, then there would be no fear of war and no use (for) the devilish instruments of warfare which are being used by the nations."

The printed slogan of the Crusade from Zechariah 4: 6, follows: "Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit saith the Lord of Hosts."

ATOM BOMB BASES

Another warning

From STUART MORRIS

General Secretary, The Peace Pledge Union.

The British public should not overlook one of the pregnant paragraphs in the reported statement of Mr. Dulles to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on March 19:

"Since the United States now was sharing military bases with other countries, it seemed to him that the first action of an aggressor would be to attack these bases and to make them unfit for use. The assault on the United States would then come at the second stage."

So much for the belief that American bases here are a guarantee of our security!

"THE ARCHERS" PUT IT RIGHT

From a Correspondent

THE BBC's Midland Studio has made gracious amends for its recent misrepresentation of pacifism in the popular "Archers" non-stop family saga.

In last Saturday's omnibus edition listeners heard a forthright repudiation of the earlier suggestion that pacifism was typified by the village trouble maker, Ben White. In fact, asserted Mrs. Fairbrother, one of the serial's most attractive characters, there were many sincere people who genuinely objected to killing and to war preparation, and their views should be respected.

Coming in the context of some ill-conceived banter about shooting Kikuyu (not even Mau Mau!) it served to emphasise that pacifists were concerned about the contemporary situation, and not merely making a negative stand.

If the public spirit which sometimes illuminates this peak listening feature could be extended to grapple with more such basic issues it would become a powerful factor in forming enlightened public opinion. What about the Archer family forming a local discussion group on current affairs!

BRITAIN'S GERM WARFARE EXPERIMENTS

By Emrys Hughes, MP

WHY should the Government be so desperately anxious to hide the facts about its Bacteriological Warfare Department, which is being carried on under the auspices of the Minister of Supply?

Last Monday I put some questions to the Minister of Supply, Mr. Duncan Sandys, about this matter, only to be told that it was not in the public interests that any details should be given about these extremely secret activities.

Does the Government seriously think that it is in the public interest that the British taxpayer should not know how his money is spent? Or is the real reason that the Government is ashamed of it and doesn't want the nation to know how much money is being spent, how many scientists are employed on these researches, and exactly what they imply for civilisation and humanity.

But although the Government and the Press are not anxious that we should know much about the questions, they are a matter of some interest.

The most influential of French newspapers, Le Monde featured across two columns on its front page on March 11, the news that Great Britain was going to carry out an experiment in bacteriological war at sea, in the neighbourhood of the Bahamas, and obviously thought this event was of international importance.

Le Monde recalled that a young soldier had died under mysterious circumstances at the experimental station at Porton and said:

"Although the authorities had done their best to keep secret on this matter it became known that the victim had played a role in an experiment with certain toxic substances. Again in the autumn of 1952 Moscow Radio gave some information about the

bacteriological experiments which were taking place off the coast of Scotland, information which is now regarded as accurate. The fact that the Russians had been able to discover this doubtless showed how difficult it is to keep the secret in such a wide area. It would be necessary to establish an area forbidden to all shipping.

"In spite of this it seems that during a storm at least one British trawler went into the danger zone.

"Those responsible had then good reason to find a more favourable place for their researches and to make a public announcement about the project. The official communiqué announced that the new experiments would take place far at sea, and more than 30 Kms. from any inhabited island.

"According to less official information it seems that about twenty ships would take part in the expedition, among them the Ben Lomond of 4,800 tons, which during the war was used for tank landing purposes.

"It is equally probable that an aircraft carrier will participate in these trials. One of the objects will be to study the dispersion of different toxic substances at different heights. Such a study would no doubt make use of radio-active substances which will be concentrated at various points in the prohibited zone.

"More realistic experiments are being arranged. A ship containing sheep, pigs

On back page

Condemned African: Quakers cable appeal

THE Race Relations Committee of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Britain has sent the following cable to the Governor of Kenya, Sir Evelyn Baring, in connection with the sentence of death recently passed upon an African Quaker, Alfayo Agufana, of Maragoli District:

"We understand that Alfayo Agufana, of Malingo Market, a Quaker, is under death sentence. We strongly appeal for clemency. Radley, Race Relations Committee, Society of Friends, London."

The condemned man, son of the one-time pastor of Maragoli Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends, was found guilty of

being in possession of two bullets, which is a capital offence under the Emergency Regulations. He was sentenced to death and appealed. Last week a report reached London that the appeal had been dismissed and that only the Governor's discretion could save Agufana from execution.

Little is known in Britain about the circumstances of the trial beyond the fact that the accused man protested his innocence and said that he did not use firearms of any kind as he was not even a hunter. The bullets were reported to have been found by African police during a night search of premises which he was occupying. In the area of Kenya where he lived there has been little indication of Mau Mau activity.

"Get ready for the next election"

—Fenner Brockway, MP

ON behalf of the Labour Peace Fellowship, Fenner Brockway, MP, has sent out a letter to Labour Party Secretaries calling for some hard thinking about the Party's policy at the next election (which some say will come sooner than is thought, perhaps Autumn this year).

The letter encloses the pamphlet "Waging Peace" and says:

"In 'Waging Peace' we refer to the two assumptions on which our foreign policy was based in 1950-51, namely that there was a serious and imminent danger of military aggression by the Soviet Union, and that therefore we, in collaboration with the other Western nations, must give top priority to building up large armed forces in order to be able to negotiate with the East from strength. We say that the time has now come to look again at these assumptions in the light of three years' experience and, we believe, to reject them both.

Urgent task

"In our view, the most vital and urgent task today is for us as a nation to throw ourselves wholeheartedly into the war on want on the side of those 1½ billion people, two-thirds of the human race, who still live in centuries' old poverty, but who are determined that it shall be ended. If we fail to understand and assist this world-wide social revolution it will, in the end, destroy us.

"I am confident that many members of the Party would welcome a redirection of British foreign policy on these lines, and I hope, therefore, that your members will feel able to give time to consideration of the issues raised.

"If you would like someone to lead a discussion on the policy outlined in the pamphlet, I understand that the North London Group of the Labour Peace Fellowship would be glad to send along one of their members. The Secretary is Maurice Butcher, 35 Ridge Rd., N.8."

MICHAEL SCOTT IN LIVERPOOL

The Rev. Michael Scott of the Africa Bureau and Lady Mayer, Vice-President of the British Section, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom will speak at a public meeting to be held in conjunction with the Annual Council of the WILPF at the YMCA, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool, at 7.30 pm on April 2. The Lord Mayor of Liverpool, Alderman W. J. Tristram will be present to extend a civic welcome to the Council.

PEACE NEWS

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March 26, 1954

THE CHURCH SHOULD LOOK AHEAD

ON August 6, 1945, the aeroplane which was to carry the first atomic war weapon set out from its base.

Before it took off it received the blessing of the Christian Church. The instrument by means of which Christ's blessing was conveyed—he surely rates his place in Christian history—was the Chaplain, the Reverend William Downey.

The destination of the aeroplane was Hiroshima, a town of some 400,000 people. There this new weapon was exploded. Of those 400,000 people 247,000 died, according to Dr. Osada, author of "Children of the Atom Bomb."

They were 247,000 people. They were not so many units in a results graph—a quarter of a "megadeath." There were all kinds of people among them. There were little girls of five years of age. There were babies still being nursed. There were young boys and girls at school. There were women, who had been wondering when this burden of war might be lifted off their lives. There were doubtless some children in the womb, but these are not registered in the result figure. And there were, of course, men. There may even have been some armed men, although it is not likely that there were very many left in Hiroshima.

These 247,000 little boys, little girls, babies, youths and men and women were killed by a bomb which it is estimated had a destructive power of 20,000 tons of TNT. In addition to its blasting power it had other baleful effects resulting from the radiation that followed from it, but these effects might not show themselves until the next generation.

This was the "nominal" atom bomb. Its destructive capacity is what is spoken of as part of the paraphernalia of disingenuous propaganda that the people are constrained to resort to who have accepted the unpleasant and misleading function of talking to the average citizen about what they call "civil defence."

★ ★

On March 1, 1954, eight and a half years after that primitive exploit at Hiroshima, the US Government was responsible for the explosion at Bikini of a new hydrogen thermo-nuclear device. Its destructive power, we are told, was six hundred times greater than that of the atom bomb that brought death to 247,000 people at Hiroshima. Its shock was in fact considerably more powerful than was anticipated by the scientists and it was felt 176 miles away from the test site. As we reported last week 28 Americans and 236 inhabitants of the Marshall Islands were unexpectedly exposed to radio-activity, how seriously we have not been informed.

In addition to these some Japanese in a fishing vessel seventy miles away from Bikini felt the blast and were sprinkled with an ash-like substance. Their skin first reddened and later turned black, and they suffered from constant itching. Seventeen of them have been sent to hospital suffering from burns and scars. They have had their hair shaved off and their clothing burned as a precaution against contamination, and the fish they had caught has been similarly destroyed. Six members of the crew who have not been taken to hospital were being sought as it was feared that if not found they would contaminate others.

Whereas the Hiroshima (the "nominal") bomb was the equivalent of 20,000 tons of TNT the Hydrogen device of March 1 was the equivalent of 12,000,000 tons of TNT.

This was exploded in the first of a series of tests, the next of which is to take place in April. Later explosions are expected to be bigger. They may have a blast capacity of 50,000,000 tons of TNT or 2,500 times that of the Hiroshima "nominal" bomb; and it is claimed indeed that the destructive power of the device can be indefinitely expanded.

★ ★

Mr. Durham, a senior member of the US Joint Congressional Atomic Committee, and a former Acting Chairman of the Committee, has remarked "I am glad to say we have a deliverable thermo-nuclear weapon." All lovers of peace throughout the free world (except, of course, pacifists with their heads in the clouds) will share Mr. Durham's happiness!

There is, however, surely one thing that is being overlooked in this successful series of tests. When it is decided (for, of course, completely adequate moral reasons) that the boys and girls, the babies, the men and women (all victims of the Kremlin) who have the misfortune to live at Pskov or Smolensk or Kursk shall be put to death, it should surely not be left to some casually-chosen Chaplain to decide upon the form in which Christ's blessing is to be brought to the work. There is surely a case for a special ceremony. We suggest that it is not too early for the Christian Churches of the Free World to begin conferring in order to decide on a suitable form.

America's new look

THOUGH much attention has been given to the recent announcements on American strategy, there is little new except the wrapping.

It is by no means the first time that reliance upon swift and effective retaliation has been publicised as a deterrent to aggression. That policy underlies "negotiation from strength" with the implied threat that in the last resort a refusal to accept dictated terms would lead to the unleashing of atomic war.

What else indeed is the meaning of American bases in Britain and elsewhere? A new edition of an atomic map published in an American magazine actually depicts American planes delivering A-bombs on the Soviet Union from Alaska, North Africa, the Middle East, and Britain!

It has become necessary to sell to the American people the old policy in a new wrapper in order to justify the lower expenditure on the Army and changed decisions about expeditionary forces. It would be well if the Merchandise Marks Act could apply to this kind of selling campaign so that it would be as much an offence to deceive the public by false claims in the international as in the commercial field.

Cash—not cannon fodder

There is a growing recognition in America that the intervention in Korea has been a failure and it is almost certain that no American expeditionary force will be sent in the future to any place where the USA is not already bound by commitments.

After several indirect threats about Indo-China it is now obvious that though America is prepared to supply some equipment and underwrite the French expenditure up to 75 per cent. of the cost, they do not intend to send troops there.

It is the American intention to find their security in terms of providing the cash while other governments provide the cannon fodder.

But who decides?

But behind that intention lies the vital question as to what action an American government might threaten or take if some local war looked like endangering their own security.

Though at first sight it might appear that American policy tends to confine specific conflict to "local wars," in effect it puts an end once and for all to the older attempt to isolate areas of conflict, because it creates the possibility that any local war might become a world atomic war by the decision of one man acting in what, in some moment of panic, he might consider as a dire emergency.

Hence the uneasiness about the authority of the President.

The decision to drop the first atom bomb was made by the then President of the USA without the previous consent of Congress and Senate, and without full consultation with his allies. The increasing destructiveness of atomic weapons, the tension in the cold war, the presence of American bases on British soil and a growing uneasiness about American policy has prompted the question whether America would consult her allies before again using an atomic weapon.

No clear answer

As long ago as 1950 Mr. Attlee received an assurance from President Truman that there would be consultation with the British Government *except in the case of sudden emergency*, and Churchill received a similar assurance last year.

The questions raised by Lord Hore-Belisha and the Canadian Minister for External Affairs show that such limited

BEHIND THE NEWS

assurances are not sufficient to allay a reasonable anxiety, nor has a clear answer been given by either the President or Mr. Dulles.

No adequate provision exists for effective consultation between America and other governments. NATO has certainly not provided it. Nor has there been much evidence of American readiness to listen to advice from other sources, and the graver the emergency the greater the danger that America would "go it alone."

Eisenhower has certainly made it plain that so far as he is concerned he would act first and ask approval afterwards if the emergency were sufficiently serious.

If there is a dilemma for scientists through the use to which their work is all too often put, there is a moral responsibility involved in American policy which no man should be called upon to bear.

In truth the only way out of the dilemma for both is the refusal of any responsible government to use atomic weapons under any circumstance. Such an agreement would go far to prevent the possibility of any dire emergency and it would make world suicide impossible.

But, as we have always insisted, to ban atomic weapons is not enough. Total disarmament is the only sane and realistic policy. Disarmament by agreement if that be possible, but if not, unilateral disarmament by Britain, setting an example to the rest of the world.

The uranium bank

IT is perhaps all the more unfortunate that the recent threats of atomic retaliation should have coincided with the handing over to M. Molotov of the detailed scheme for a uranium bank which President Eisenhower suggested some weeks ago. We hope that the Soviet Union will not allow them to prejudice the issue at the outset.

The new scheme could be a basis for serious discussions in the determination to make a start by applying atomic power to constructive purposes.

Extending the danger zone

THE experience of the Japanese fishermen, affected by radio active ash, is a new warning of what atomic warfare will involve.

Those who talk in terms of civil defence against atomic attack will not find it easier to justify their proposals from the fact that the American Government has now increased the danger zone from an area 200 by 150 nautical miles to one of 400 miles long by 400 miles wide.

What, we may well ask, is the length and breadth of Britain?

Pilgrim's progress

NOT for the first time we are glad to be able to quote a statement made by Sir Gladwyn Jebb, Britain's representative at UN.

In his speech at the Pilgrims' dinner he admitted that until we arrive at a World State the Security Council "is useless as an instrument for dealing with serious aggression."

He also stressed the need for strengthening the function of UN to provide for the peaceful settlement of disputes,

and claimed that membership was not to be regarded as a prize for a good boy. He added this dictum, which all those who put their trust in war and war preparation as a means of containing or liquidating Communism would do well to take to heart:

"Communism was not going to be defeated by physical means Another world war certainly would not result in the disappearance of Communism. Rather it would be likely to result (whatever the name might be) in its universal extension."

Charter revision

MR. SELWYN LLOYD recently received a deputation from the British Parliamentary Group for World Government.

They urged changes which would make membership of UN universal, include a definition of sovereignty in the Charter, create a UN Police Force responsible to the Secretary-General and also a World Development Authority financed by percentage contributions from all member States.

It is understood that the British Government will shortly define its attitude to Charter revision but that it is in favour of making membership of UN universal.

We suggest that as a start the British Government press for and obtain the admission of the rightful representatives of the Chinese people.

Conditional rearmament

THE West German Parliament has approved the conscription amendment to the constitution.

This gives the West German Government the right to rearm without any restrictions.

That is why the Allied High Commissioners have already intervened to point out that any amendment to the Bonn constitution must receive their unanimous approval.

President Heuss is faced with two awkward questions. Will he await the High Commissioners' approval or sign the Bill at once and leave them to intervene? Will he now sign the previous Bills to ratify the Bonn and Paris Agreements, which, under pressure from the Social Democrats, he agreed not to sign pending the settlement of the constitutional issues?

We could wish that the action of the High Commissioners signified a change in Western policy and a refusal to permit German rearmament.

Unfortunately that is not the case.

Their demands for German rearmament are as urgent as ever, but in order to meet the fears of France and others who see the dangers of such rearmament, the allied governments are not willing to approve the amendment unless and until the Federal Republic is first bound by the terms of EDC. So they disclose a fundamental distrust of Germany and a hidden fear of what might happen if Germany could "go it alone."

Now that the Belgian Government has ratified EDC and steps are in hand for the General Election necessary owing to the constitutional changes involved, ratification waits only on the consent of Italy and France.

In the meantime the opponents to German rearmament are not relaxing their efforts to prevent the ratification of EDC.

There is yet time for further action by the substantial minority within the British Labour Party to change the official view, and for pacifists to continue to proclaim that the only peaceful solution of the German problem and the way to peace in Europe lies in the neutralisation and continued disarmament of a united Germany followed by the disarmament of the other countries concerned.

LETTER FROM THE USA

By A. J. MUSTE

The headlines in my morning paper on the day this is written "speak for themselves." Under a two column spread the New York Times proclaims: *Atom Smasher Sets Record—Japan Gets Radioactive Fish.*

What follows shows that there are two separate stories, not one, as I thought when I first read the headlines.

The first refers to a machine built at the University of California with money provided by the Atomic Energy Commission. The machine is called a *bevatron*. A BEV is one billion electron volts if this interests or enlightens you. It is "the world's most powerful device for bombarding the atom, designed to penetrate deeper than ever before into the inner citadel of the material universe."

It may, according to W. M. Laurence, star reporter on scientific development, "mark a new epoch in man's quest for knowledge of what makes his universe tick."

Atom-test tragedy

One wonders about this in view of the other story about the excited efforts of the Japanese police "to find and remove from public sale today some 12,000 pounds of fish landed from a vessel showered with radioactive ash during the recent atomic tests at Bikini Atoll." Also, in view of the fact that in the same issue of the paper the Chairman of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee announces that the US has the hydrogen bomb and can deliver it anywhere in the world; and that it is a "fair assumption" that Russia has the H-bomb too.

It is likely that the tragic experience of the little 99-ton Japanese fishing boat in the age of the bevatron will become a new focus of anti-American feeling in Japan and indeed through much of Asia. In so far as this means that people come to think of Americans as "devils," as many Americans did think of Japanese during the war, it will be said. If it should have the effect of inclining the Japanese toward political alignment with the Communist bloc, this

Food: radio-active and otherwise

also will be regrettable. It would be vastly encouraging if, instead, the determination of the Japanese people permanently to contract out of the power struggle and the arms race and to maintain their pacifist Constitution intact, were strengthened.

Additional point is given, by the developments in the realm of material things which we have cited, to what seems to me a very brilliant and hard-hitting article by your British economist, Barbara Ward, in last Sunday's issue of the magazine section of the New York Times. She gives a fresh and vivid statement of the relation between the advanced and the so-called under-developed countries. There is, she suggests, "a natural frontier of poverty" which appears "to run right around our globe. Its limits are roughly the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn with loops beyond to corral the great deserts." Nature itself is the worst enemy to progress in most of this territory.

The 18 per cent. of the world's population which "earns" nearly 70 per cent. of the world's income is not at present disposed to do anything decisive about the problem.

Nations like Canada and the US could increase their own food production and support populations of 90 and 500 millions respectively as against the present figures of 14 and 150. But since the US especially is already wrestling with "unmanageable"

food surpluses, what incentive has it, Miss Ward asks, to increase capital investment in its own food production or to send capital abroad to stimulate food production among the starving peoples? Private US investment in foreign loans in the Twenties ran at a billion a year. Between 1946-51 less than 150 million.

For the answer to her question, Miss Ward recalls that in the early and middle Nineteenth Century in England, for example, there was the same terrible gap between rich and poor as now obtains on a world scale and a widely accepted "iron law" of economics which presumably proved that it could not be otherwise. Out of this situation, Marx prophesied, bloody revolution would come.

But what happened, for a variety of reasons, was that the "iron law" was not accepted. Positive measures to alleviate poverty and so on were taken.

The world economy today, Miss Ward concludes, is "at the point reached in the middle of the last century by individual Western economies." The Marxist prophesy is "forcing its reappearance on the world scene in the relations between nations." She, therefore, makes what amounts, of course, to a revolutionary proposal that the purely economic approach to the distribution of the world's wealth be abandoned, and that "the equivalent of a progressive international income tax, according to which all nations whose per capital wealth is above a certain figure should contribute one or two per cent. of their national income to the development of the backward areas," should be introduced.

Decisive argument

The decisive argument for such a step may well, in the last analysis, be neither economic nor political, she opines, though a powerful argument can be made on these grounds. She thinks the crucial motive in Victorian England's abandonment of pure economic laissez-faire was "the inherited tradition of a Christian people, who seeing the slums and the sickness, the poverty and the suffering, were driven to recognise in those who had fallen by the roadside of industrial advance the neighbours whom it was their Christian duty to cherish."

We can agree with her feeling that for their souls' salvation, and probably as the price also of material survival, it will be well if Western peoples use this approach now to the problems of the world community.

YOUR WORLD

PAKISTAN: The United Front, the alliance of groups in opposition to the Muslim League, has won the election in East Pakistan. Even the League's President in East Bengal and former Chief Minister, Mr. Nurul Amin was defeated, and that by an 18-years-old student with a margin of 7,000 votes. Mr. H. Suhrawardy, leader of one of the United Front parties who helped Gandhi to prevent communal rioting in Calcutta, has called for the dissolution of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly (the central legislature) and its displacement by a directly elected body. It is not yet certain what influence this change in East Pakistan will have on foreign policy.

VENEZUELA: The juridical-political commission of the 10th Inter-American Conference approved the Argentine resolution against colonialism in the Western Hemisphere. The vote was 19 in favour with the US abstaining. The resolution declares the will of the American people that colonialism must be ended. It also expresses sympathy with the "legitimate aspirations of Colonial peoples to attain their sovereignty."

SOUTH AFRICA: The mass removal of Africans from Sophiatown, near Johannesburg, is to begin at the end of April. 70,000 Africans or 14,000 families will be transferred to a place eleven miles from the city. According to a spokesman from the Department of Native Affairs no family is to be moved until a house is available for it in the new township.

USA: Prof. Roger Holmes, of Mount Holyoke College, in Massachusetts, has constructed a machine which can solve problems in logic, he has announced. He said it could go through complex processes of reasoning more quickly and accurately than its operator.

★ The agency of American Catholics for relief abroad, War Relief Services, National Catholic Welfare Conference, has been approved by the US National Selective Service for the employment of qualified conscientious objectors.

JAPAN: Student officers at the National Safety Force Academy at Kurihama are reported to be enrolling in order to obtain secure jobs rather than for any love of militarism.

What is needed for Indo-China

IT is enormously difficult to see how, after seven years of civil war, the French authority can be withdrawn from Indo-China without leaving the native states, in all their frailty and inexperience, to become the satellites of a Red Chinese empire. But that is the problem which confronts us...

For meeting that problem we shall need men, first of all in Paris but also in London and Washington, of the stature and with the general outlook upon Asian matters of those who brought the British safely and honorably—and in the long run so profitably—out of India.—Walter Lippman, in the New York Herald Tribune.

War experts wanted for COs!

CHRISTIANS DON'T KNOW—TRIBUNAL

GEORGE IVEY, an accountant's clerk whose father and mother are members of the Peace Pledge Union appeared at Fulham Tribunal recently.

In arriving at the CO position he had discussed pacifism with other Christians.

"Did they give any reason why they would fight?" he was asked.

"Not really," George replied. "Then," said the Tribunal, "you have not discussed it with people who know anything about it."

His case was adjourned in order that he can have a better opportunity of studying the question.

Jehovah's Witness Ernest Carter had an American full-time minister to testify on his behalf, who put forward the interesting observation that the Scottish courts were considering the ministerial status of full-time Jehovah's Witnesses in relation to military service. At the moment only fully-ordained ministers of religion are exempt under the Act and this excludes Jehovah's Witnesses.

Nigel Watt, of Saffron Walden, Essex, was the only applicant out of 19 to get conditional exemption at the sitting. He was educated at the Quaker School at Saffron Walden and attends meetings of the Society of Friends.

'World is my neighbour'

"THE world is my neighbour," said 18-years-old John Charles Emmerson at the Manchester Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors on March 12.

Sir Edwin C. Burgess, chairman, asked him would he be prepared to leave the world to its doom.

"Would you not be prepared to fight for those who were in Belsen?" he asked.

"To save them it would have meant others being killed—and my conscience tells me that to kill anyone is wrong," replied Emmerson.

A member of the Plymouth Brethren, he was registered for non-combatant service.

Of Edward Thornley, 21-years-old apprentice electrician, the chairman said that seldom had an objector so impressed him.

He had changed to another branch of his firm because his own branch was on war work. Thornley said he wanted to work in a mental hospital.

But the tribunal held that this was merely a preference and not truly a conscientious objection. He was registered for non-combatant service. Thornley is to appeal.

THE AGONY OF KENYA

After 18 months of terror and counter-terror the British Colonial Secretary has attempted to fashion a new constitutional arrangement in Kenya. This arrangement provides for a multi-racial government composed of three Europeans, two Asians and one African. An alternative proposal was put forward by the Africans to provide for a greater measure of African representation while still retaining parity. It was rejected. The new Government will still be subject to the Governor and through him to the Colonial Secretary.

Photo: Socialist Outlook.

Peace News Tribunal Reporter comments: Questions have been asked in Parliament regarding the type of questions being put to COs at Tribunals. This sitting was no exception. It is very significant that all decisions are unanimous these days. Surely some cases must be strong enough for a member to disagree with his colleagues.

No longer a problem boy

A BIRMINGHAM youth, 17-year-old Brian Wilmot Haynes, who was described as a former "Problem Boy" by an Elim Church minister was left on the register of conscientious objectors when his case was heard at the Midlands Local Tribunal under Judge Drucquer recently.

"Haynes," said the minister, "was a problem boy who had been in contact with the courts. He came to Birmingham to live with his aunts, members of the church, and he was put under their jurisdiction. They helped to restate him in life and through them he became a Christian."

"From a problem boy, his whole way of thinking was altered. To do some of the things he did as a boy he had to be pretty shrewd, but he has difficulty in putting things into words. We can vouch for him. He is very sincere."

The Tribunal suggested that it might do Haynes some good to go into the Army, the minister replied that his church had no fixed tenets on military service, but when they thought a member was wholly sincere in his feelings against it, they supported him.

He added, "we feel that his association with other men in the Forces might lead him to relinquish what he feels is best in life for him."

Gordon Withers aged 21, of 4a Westcroft Ave., Underhill Estate, Wolverhampton, a wood pattern maker and a member of the

* Continued on back page



A DAY IN THE OFFICE

"IF you could have seen it," said the man from Lebanon with a huge smile and a generous Arabian flourish, "there were thousands of them in the streets of Beirut when we had our conference, Third Campers every one."

He was sitting in our office telling us about a successful conference of Arab neutralists and war resisters which he had helped to organise some months ago. It cheered us up no end. The papers didn't report it in Europe, but we're used to that by now.

With him was an American pacifist now studying in England. Their contact and ours? Peace News.

While they were with us a man rang up. He was from South Africa, a passive resister, and he wanted to meet pacifists in Britain. How will he do it? Through Peace News.

In the post came a letter from Siam. A lady sending clippings from the local press. From her we get the facts about her country. How does she get the facts about world developments? Through Peace News.

From Japan, New Zealand, Costa Rica and Norway, the letters come in and the papers go out.

But there is also a Holiday Bureau, a Bookshop, a pamphlet service, a panel of Peace News speakers, a Christmas Card department, and an occasional social evening thrown in with Peace News' activities.

This is how it should be with a healthy organ of healthy opinion.

We could wish that our finances were as healthy.

TOM WARDLE.

An anonymous donation of £2 is gratefully acknowledged.

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INTERNATIONAL NEWS FLASHES

Hoping for East-West camps

THE exchange of Indian and Pakistani volunteers, started this year between camps in their two countries, a venture that no-one else has so far undertaken, was warmly praised recently by Govind Rao, a young Indian who had served with International Voluntary Service for Peace in India.

He believed that the contribution this exchange made to understanding and amity between the two countries, alone made IVSP's presence in India and Pakistan worth while.

He was speaking at the 19th Annual General Meeting of the British Branch of IVSP.

Other discussions ranged from a lively debate on whether the running of an international hostel, mainly to provide cheap accommodation for members and friends passing through London, can be considered part of the aims of a work-camp movement (general agreement that IVSP needs its hostel): to a discussion on efforts made during the past year to set up an East-West Service—a camp in a West, and East, European country to enable an exchange of volunteers between East and West to be made. It was hoped that such a camp might take place next year.

But despite good progress in the practical work of the organisation in 1953, IVSP's position at the end of the year with a financial deficit of £600 and no certainty of making it up in 1954, is more than serious.

A fund-raising campaign is to be organised amongst members, to take place in April, but unless £1,000 or more is found before the end of the year, the work in India and Pakistan, in the past the building of houses for refugees, schools, and dormitories and kitchens for a leprosy centre, started at the invitation of the Indian Government in 1950, may have to close down.

A statement on United Nations membership adopted by the National Council of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation reads: "The only sound basis on which UN can operate is that of universality of

membership. Other considerations should be subordinated to this principle, and every independent nation should be welcomed into membership. The fact that a nation is admitted to the UN should represent simply a recognition that whatever Government is in *de facto* control is entitled to participate in a body which is intended on a world level to speak to and for the nations of the world."

Silver Jubilee of The Caravan of East and West, which exists to promote peace, world fellowship and the principles of the Baha'i religion, will take place on April 5.

The London School of Economics Pacifist Society meets every Tuesday at 4.15. Sympathisers and hostile critics are welcome, reports Beaver, journal of the Student's Union. Bernard Withers, Secretary of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors was guest speaker at a meeting last month.

More than 100 American colleges and 30 high schools require every male student to take military training as a requirement for graduation. The National Council Against Conscription in the US has issued a leaflet, "Coercion on the Campus" which explains some of the reasons why this system weakens American education and should be eliminated. Quantities of the leaflet are available from the Council, 1013 18th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C. at 5 cents each or 35 for one dollar. A fuller study of the question, "Militarism in Education" by 26 leading educators, is published from the same source at 25 cents.

Ulf Christensen, pacifist editor of the Norwegian bulletin "Tenk Selv," has produced an English-language version, "Think for Yourself" which is being distributed at 7s. per 100. It is a four-page octavo-sized folder attractively produced and illustrated and advocates a third way solution to the problem of war and poverty. It is available from Ulf Christensen, Bygdoy Alle 26, Oslo, Norway.

GANDHI'S VOICE

Further progress has been made in preservation of recordings by All India Radio of

Mahatma Gandhi's addresses at prayer meetings. Two more sets each consisting of six or more double-sided ten-inch gramophone records are ready for processing for commercial release in India. Three sets have already been released.

The eighth and last volume of "Mahatma"—biography of Mahatma Gandhi by D. G. Tendulkar, was published on January 30, the sixth anniversary of Mr. Gandhi's death. The eight volumes contain over 3,200 pages of reading matter and 1,000 pages of illustrations. The first volume appeared in 1951. Prime Minister Nehru contributed a foreword. Also published on January 30 last was the authorised diary of Gandhi's Noakhali walking tour during 1946-47. It is in Gujarati.

THIRTY IN GAOL

Noel Platteau, a Belgian conscientious objector, has now gone to join some thirty other Belgian objectors in prison. There is no provision in Belgian law for an alternative to military service. Before his arrest Platteau wrote to the Minister of National Defence to indicate that he would be glad to join a group of volunteers working for the reconstruction of the areas ruined by the Greek earthquake. He concluded his letter: "This I may not do, because I must learn to kill."

American conscientious objectors who were former members of Civilian Public Service Unit 116 (stationed during World War II at the University of Maryland on "projects of national importance" consisting in the main of agricultural jobs) have since kept in touch with each other through a "Newsletter published in the interest of comradeship and brotherhood." A recent issue reveals that belief in a non-violent way of life can produce useful happy lives, of men deeply devoted to their own communities as well as to their former CPS friends.

Ingo Schubert, President of World Youth Friendship, invites young people interested in international pen-friendships to write to him at P.O. Box 227, Pfrozheim, W. Germany.

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Today's Parents



These men and women desperately attempting to sleep on the stopped escalators of a London Underground station during the Blitz were the victims of profound physical and emotional strain which is still evident today. The hidden damage of those dreadful years has not been entirely, if at all, repaired.
—Picture: Der Zweite Weltkrieg im Bild.

The school-age problem child

By ARTHUR COLLIS

A Child Care worker and former Pacifist Service Unit leader

I RECENTLY had dealings with a boy of ten appearing before a juvenile court for breaking and entering and stealing.

At the age of seven he and his five-years-old brother had already become the terror of their rival neighbours.

They had been killing and stealing chickens, killing young pigs, releasing animals from their pens and birds from their cages, stealing from shops and from vans.

The police could not charge the boys as legally a child under eight is incapable of forming a criminal intent. The Children's Officer was asked if the boys could be taken into the care of the local authority as they were beyond the control of their parents.

The latter were only too glad to be free of the trouble the children were bringing to the home especially as the mother had borne 20 children (not all were living) and the father, a dull and ineffective person in the house was useless in helping to look after the family.

No vacancies

Both the boys were much below average intelligence, had been classified as "educationally subnormal" and recommended for education in a special boarding school.

There were no vacancies for them as the provision of schools for educationally subnormal children and for children who are psychologically maladjusted falls far short of requirements, and so the Children's Committee agreed to take the two boys into care.

They were placed in a cottage with nine other boys in a Grouped Children's Home from where they could attend a day school for backward children. The older boy did not respond to this environment and his appearance in court was the culmination of a long series of further misdemeanours. He is now in an Approved School.

There are many problems which baffle the specialists in child welfare but at the same

time workers in the field are only too well aware how much more could be done for many youngsters if greater resources and more workers were available.

The failure to provide adequate facilities for dealing with educationally subnormal and maladjusted children has not only resulted in stunted and warped lives but has greatly added to the number of juvenile delinquents and the number of children who are removed each year from their own

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Non-violence in the treatment of the hardened criminal

By FRANK DAWTRY

THE problems of crime and its treatment are ever with us and particularly those involving juvenile delinquency. The situation regarding our young people is certainly not to be belittled for there is a heavy increase in the crime figures for the younger age groups when compared with 1938. But the proportionate increase in adult crime is in fact greater than that amongst the juveniles—a fact too often ignored.

The criminal statistics for 1952 in fact revealed a considerable reduction in juvenile offences while adult offenders, particularly the over-thirty group, remained at the high level of previous years.

The urgent need remains, to find successful means of reducing and treating juvenile crime, though it may be we have gone some way towards achieving that, as the 1953 statistics are expected to show.

We can, however, hardly be surprised that juvenile crime remains a cause of worry when the older generations do not show a better example. Much juvenile crime is mischief and a high proportion of convicted young people

do not return to crime—the hard core of real crime is in the adult population and it is much more difficult to disperse than is juvenile delinquency.

We can find many explanations for the increase in crime—the war, evacuation, the loss of security, affection and purpose in the disruptions of modern life; and it is interesting to note that the increase in crime is affecting most of Europe and America. Much research into causes is now going on, but research can only affect the problem many years ahead. The immediate question is the treatment of the situation as we now find it.

In that situation there are many bad features, the worst of which in this country is the attempt to deal with a large human problem in large inhuman institutions. Our prisons are grossly overcrowded and hopelessly incapable of permitting any personal or individual study or treatment of the mass of our adult prison population. There is, ironically enough, no money available to remedy this situation though it probably accounts for the storing up of much trouble for the future, and a continuing loss and expense which by wise expenditure now could be eliminated or considerably reduced.

It is easy to blame governments and officials but in this field they need more than ordinary courage to give a priority to the treatment of offenders. In this matter, however, it is only fair to discount criticism because there is much to admire in the efforts which have been made and are constantly being made to improve the treatment of older offenders.

The growth of crime has led to and will no doubt continue to call forth periodical demands for more repressive measures, calls for the restoration of corporal punishment, appeals for violence and revenge. Such demands have been steadily and courageously resisted by our recent Home Secretaries of both political parties, and by the officials working under them.

In addition to the resistance to negative demands, more positive action has been taken, again in face of much opposition. This has been particularly noticeable in the development of the open camp type of institution completely unlike any general conception of the nature of prison. Such a camp was first opened in 1936 near Wakefield; but only since the war has a positive policy of using camps and large houses, unfenced and unprotected, been adopted.

Wherever the proposal has been made to establish such an open centre, there has been local public opposition. Public meetings have been held, wild statements made by local citizens, about carrying guns or weapons "to protect their womenfolk" (always the poor women!) But the camps have opened and always within a few weeks or months the local public has not only accepted the idea, but there has been a growing anxiety to be

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CHILD CARE—THE FOUNDATION OF CREATIVE PEACE

A Children's Officer writes on the deprived child in infancy

The writer, Miss B. M. Brock, is Children's Officer for the Soke of Peterborough and has had more than 20 years' experience of work with deprived children.

HAVE you ever sat opposite a mother and baby in a train and beguiled the time by studying the mother's face? Did you see her brooding over her child, smiling when he waved his fist aimlessly in the air, gurgled and smiled at her?

No doubt you noticed that maternal look, tender and soft, suggestive of a secret understanding between mother and baby. You were seeing the outward sign of maternal care and love that every child needs from birth.

In the early stage of development this care acts as a stimulant, and soon evokes a response from the baby. He learns his first lesson in giving and receiving affection. In addition he gains security, contentment and the feeling of being wanted.

★
NOW think of the baby, who for some reason, cannot be with his mother or mother substitute (e.g. an adoptive mother who fervently wants him), perhaps he is in a residential nursery or having to spend a long time in hospital.

His material needs are supplied in the best possible way, but as consciousness dawns he finds himself nursed, not by his one and only mother, but by two, three, or more people.

Many people pass his cot or pram, they smile and nod to him. He is lovingly handled by Nurse A. during the day, by Nurse B. at night, and by Nurse C. when she acts as relief for the off duty periods. He may be bathed, under supervision, by a young trainee, examined by a senior nurse, and occasionally his own mother or some other relative may visit him and nurse him for an hour or two. Each person holds him in a slightly different way, he feels and smells and tastes the difference if he pulls their finger to his mouth: his food may appear at regular intervals, but there is no regularity about the feeling of the arm in which he is held whilst feeding—gone is some of his security and contentment, quite lost is the secret understanding between him and one special person.

He will smile at them all, but the real stimulation is lacking.

His mental development may slow up, and, in a bad case of deprivation, he will lie list-

lessly in a pram without playing with fingers or toes, or gurgling and cooing contentedly. Such a baby will be slow to pull himself up, late in walking and talking, until he is in danger of being labelled backward by people who do not understand.

As he gets older and reaches the toddling stage, often several months late, he may appear friendly to the casual observer, and be willing to go to anyone holding out their arms to him, or the reverse may happen and he will take no notice of people and be unhappy when held by them. His face will not light up at the approach of one special person, he does not run to throw himself against ma-ma with a burst of affection, because there is no ma-ma. In play he will pick up and throw down toy after toy, and have no favourite plaything, until when school days are reached his teachers will report that he lacks concentration and his interest in any one subject is never sustained.

THIS picture of a baby deprived of mother love may be heavily drawn, but its purpose is to emphasise the need for maternal care in the first years of life.

Discontent, lack of purpose, lack of confidence in adults lead to lack of desire to please and of consideration for other people. Discipline and control have to be exercised from without instead of being drawn from within, and before the child has passed to the senior school he will be classified as unstable, maladjusted or potentially delinquent.

Every effort is being made today to provide maternal care. In nurseries, as far as is humanly possible, nurses are given a few babies to be their special charge instead of helping indiscriminately among a large number of babies. Boarding out and adoption are favoured, and carried out when circumstances permit. In babies' hospitals longer periods of visiting are allowed to mothers, and in some cases they can stay and tend their babies.

If we pursue this policy of keeping baby and mother together, we should see a decrease in the number of unstable children who so often become delinquent.

THERE remains the problem of the unsatisfactory mother.

She may have suffered deprivation in childhood, or the baby may be unwelcome for a variety of reasons.

Homes which accept mother and child can do a great deal towards training mothers in child care, awakening their pride and interest in the child and so encourage love.

There are, however, mothers who would not enter such a home. Where there is material well-being and no financial worries the deprived child may be overlooked, he can be passed from one relative to another, or have a succession of nannies until he goes to boarding school at too early an age. It is difficult for an outside agency to help these children.

AS a last word mention must be made of paternal care.

This affects the baby in early days by providing the mother with secure and happy home life. Then the baby begins to distinguish between the feeling of tenderness when in its mother's arms, and the feeling of strength when in father's arms.

The harmonious and affectionate relationship between husband and wife creates the atmosphere in which babies thrive. Disagreement, quarrelling, loud voices lessen the sense of security.

Nothing can quite replace a happy home and loving parents, these are a baby's birthright, and beyond price.

Delinquency and the colour bar

By TOM WARDLE

THROUGHOUT the world delinquency and depressed economic circumstances go together. The effects of delinquency within homogeneous groups are bad enough; when it arises within a distinct and easily-recognised community in a mixed society the consequences may spread far beyond the individual; they can become sources of international discord. Such is the case with the delinquency which springs from the economic and psychological depression suffered by coloured communities in Britain.

Every year thousands of Africans and West Indians make their way into Britain seeking to escape from the poverty and misery of their home conditions. In the main they find that employment is difficult to obtain, lodging more so and fellowship almost impossible.

Some are fortunate enough to get a job in a factory or on a road gang and it is noticeable that there has been no difficulty in white and black workers getting along together. For the unemployed, however, there is only the dole and, if the unemployment lasts long, eventual discouragement and the turning to other forms of livelihood and sources of self-esteem.

When he comes to look for a place to stay the African gets his first big setback. He comes to Britain believing that there is no colour-bar only to find doors slammed in his

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Pacifism and Social Problems

By Pat Knowles

A Child Care Officer and former Pacifist Service Unit worker

"WHY are pacifists so concerned with social problems?" To deny war is to accept the obligation of tackling problems that create war on a personal level. If we cannot do this, we shall surely be called illogical.

This may appear a task so enormous that it seems impossible, but we have faith in our methods because in repudiating force we accept the only real alternative, the philosophy of the meek—that we can only succeed by appealing to "that of God in Everyman"—the potentiality for good within each personality, the ally within the enemy. And if this sounds unduly optimistic, we ought to add that good can only be released by an equal effort in goodwill and service to that of the conscientious soldier against evil—singleness of purpose, determination in the face of setbacks, physical endurance and suffering.

In the early life of Kagawa, we see how he accepted this obligation—and got results. Not many of us are Kagawas but we still must commit ourselves as far as we are able to the solution of the focal problems.

In many countries today (and we have a special example in Africa) the fight for the recognition of human dignity and improvement in social conditions is a struggle against physical force and coercion and those who share our opinions there are endeavouring to evolve an active, non-violent technique to meet such opposition. Here in England social reform is accepted, opposition itself takes "non-violent" forms and we have democratic channels through which we should be able to effect democratic reforms.

But with these opportunities, we find our problems pared down to the essential element, the human personality. Hence our preoccupation with the problem family, the deprived child, the delinquent, the inadequate personality—they present the hard core of the problem for they typify the personality in disintegration, the microcosm of the disintegrating society that produces war.

And here we find the directive of our concern for social reform. Society must be changed for the healing of the individual—the individual must be made whole for the building of a peaceful society. And, if this seems a muddled analysis, it should be stated that work with the individual is only part of our task. Mike Lee, in an early pamphlet produced for Pacifist Service Units, "Patterns in Relief," showed how necessary it is for pacifists to work simultaneously on several different levels, on a political level to secure reform, doing "ambulance work" on the casualties of the system, building up the individual to create a peaceful society.

Our war resistance is only part of our contribution to a peaceful world, which should be the contribution of a movement operating at all these levels and co-operating with men of good will to create a new social order and a new spiritual atmosphere which will "take away the occasion of all wars."

Thus our efforts in social service have a two-fold purpose. They express our personal service and they also help us to answer the fundamental question, "Can non-violent methods succeed?" We believe that the evidence suggests that they can.

AMITY BEGINS AT HOME

By A. Joseph Brayshaw

The writer is General Secretary of the National Marriage Guidance Council and contributes a weekly column on marriage guidance to the Daily Herald. He is also Vice-Chairman of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors.

THE pacifist who pleads that the nations should compose their bitter feuds, while he himself is unable to live in amity with a marriage partner of his own choosing, would surely cut a pathetic figure.

Successful marriage, like international peace, must rest upon love and wisdom; or if you think this too high an ideal, at least upon tolerance, maturity, unselfishness and generosity.

Roots of domestic discord

It is not surprising, then, that the Marriage Guidance Council was started, in 1938, by a pacifist of the stature of Dr. Herbert Gray, and that it has had the selfless support of many others. The small group of doctors, clergy and ministers, lawyers and social workers who founded the movement recognised, before it became fashionable, that many of our social ills spring from broken or unhappy homes.

Divorces, deprived and insecure children, young thugs and hooligans—all are in large measure the outcome of domestic discord.

The Marriage Guidance movement is not concerned to argue about these sad results, but rather to go to their root. And this lies in the relationship between husband and wife.

When grandpapa was dictator

The equality of the sexes has changed marriage from a patriarchy to a partnership. This has made it a richer and a nobler thing, with wider horizons for the wife especially; but—and this is too often missed—it is necessarily a more difficult relationship.

It demands more sharing, more give and take, more humour and more maturity than ever marriage did when grandpapa was the dictator in the home.

While the tragic separations of the war years increased divorces in England and Wales eight or ten fold (depending on your reading of the figures), they have now settled around 30,000 a year, or four times their pre-war rate. I do not argue for or against divorce; I merely take it as a rough measure of great unhappiness as our generation struggles to achieve this new, and finer, pattern of marriage based on equal partnership.

What can be done in this situation? Two things.

First, to offer help to married couples who seek it in overcoming marriage troubles.

Second—and ultimately more important—to help young couples to enter marriage better equipped to make the successful home they all desire.

Marriage counsellors

There are some eighty Marriage Guidance Councils throughout England, Wales, Northern Ireland and the Channel Isles, attempting these tasks. The first—the remedial help—is perhaps better known. It is based upon complete privacy; upon never intruding unasked; and upon helping couples to find their own solutions. It never seeks to impose remedies, much less to censure or apportion blame. It is essentially the work of the peace-maker.

It is undertaken by "marriage counsellors" who are men and women more rigorously selected and trained than any other voluntary social workers in this country. For they must be sympathetic, yet not take sides. They must care about people, yet recognise their own limitations. They must be tender, yet tough enough to share the distress of those who confide in them.

There are some five hundred marriage counsellors, and over the past few years they have enabled thousands of couples to recapture their married happiness. Two-thirds of the couples who seek such help are still living together, and if they tackle their problems early they have much more chance not merely of "saving their marriage," but of making it a real success.

Key to lasting happiness

But lasting happiness in marriage depends largely upon the spirit in which it is approached. Besides mutual love, important factors are a happy home background, agreement on fundamentals, loyalty, courage and humour. Marriage Guidance Councils cannot give people a sense of humour, but they do suggest the things that couples should them-

selves settle in advance of marriage, like religious belief, family intentions, sharing of money and relations with in-laws.

Informal talks and discussions are attended by some three thousand engaged couples each year, and far more are reached by the Council's own publications, and by press articles. The object throughout is not to impose ideas but to help engaged couples to formulate their own, so that they enter marriage with important issues faced beforehand and the need for mutual adjustment clearly understood.

The Marriage Guidance movement has high ideals, selfless voluntary workers and an inspiring fellowship that unites many different viewpoints. It is hamstrung only for lack of funds.

Essentially a voluntary body, it depends upon subscriptions and donations, with a Government contribution of—what do you think? Five thousand pounds a year, and some two thousand for certain training expenses, for work that the Denning Committee called "the most striking civilian development of recent times."

AN EXPERIMENT IN FRIENDSHIP

PACIFIST Service Units was established in May 1940 as an attempt to work out some of the practical implications of pacifism in a world of total war.

Although without financial backing, the movement developed rapidly and by the end of 1941 there were 13 full-time Units, eight working in the London area and one each in Manchester, Liverpool, Cardiff, Sheffield and Bristol.

Much of the work was of an emergency nature and, as the focus of the war shifted to the continent, a good deal of it was brought to a successful conclusion. Some of the Units, however, were engaged in long-term service. In particular the Unit in Liverpool was pioneering a unique form of social work with "Problem families"—families whose habits and conditions of life are so squalid and unsatisfactory as to lead to neglect of their children.

The Unit had been asked to help bombed-out families who were considered unfit for billeting, but their experience soon showed that such difficult families were a peace-time problem. Encouraged by their success in raising the standard of these families, they set out to offer help to the "hopeless" families whom existing social services had abandoned.

In rejecting the suggestion that any family could be regarded as beyond redemption they were giving expression to their fundamental belief in the value of the individual.



In March 1943 the work was extended to Stepney and in October 1943 to Manchester. In September, 1944, the Stepney Unit was closed owing to shortage of staff but some of its work was continued by another Pacifist Service Unit operating in the same area.

With the publication in 1945 of "Problem Families," which described the methods in some detail, the work attracted widespread public attention. A survey of problem families in Luton, in fact, stated that, "The Pacifist Service Units in Manchester and Liverpool have given a lead to the country."

Having read "Problem Families," Lord Balfour of Burleigh took the initiative in forming a new organisation to develop the work on a broader basis. The new body—Family Service Units—took over the work of the Liverpool and Manchester Pacifist Service Units in July 1947 and since then additional Units have been established in Kensington and Paddington, Sheffield, York, Birmingham, Leicester, Bradford, Bristol and Islington.

In the meantime the sole remaining Pacifist Service Unit—the Stepney Unit—had been developing its own work with "problem families." In January 1954, however, it became the Stepney Unit of Family Service Units, thus re-uniting two developments from the original Pacifist Service Units.



Family Service Units is still a pioneer organisation and in many senses still stands at the beginning of its work. The value of the service is, however, generally acknowledged and its methods are being increasingly adopted by other organisations.

The FSU worker, in the first place, is concerned with people, not in isolation but as members of the family. He is also concerned not merely with certain defined aspects of the family's situation but with their problems as a whole. This involves constant collaboration with all the many agencies concerned with the different aspects of the family's welfare. The worker tries to mobilise all the resources available and helps the family to make the best use of them.

Problem families seldom show much response to mere advice or verbal encouragement. Practical help is therefore given to show them both that the worker really wants to

OPENING the fifth session of the All-India Child Health Conference in New Delhi last month, President Rajendra Prasad stressed the need for a unified and well-co-ordinated society to derive maximum benefit from all the existing child welfare organisations in India. "I am glad," he said, "that this problem of child welfare has not been altogether neglected in India. All over the country, children's organisations are growing."



Child development institute for Thailand

help them and that higher standards are not beyond their reach.

Naturally, each family requires a great deal of attention, at least in the early stages, and the worker must have enough time to enable him to make a concentrated effort with them. It is also necessary to go on giving adequate help over a fairly long period. Although many families are able, after a time, to achieve better standards of life and to manage without continued help, there are others who cannot maintain improved conditions by their own efforts. With some of these it may even be necessary to go on helping until the children grow up.

By
DAVID JONES

General Secretary Family Service Units

No two families present quite the same constellation of problems and each must be studied individually. The worker must attempt to get beyond the immediate situation, to gain some insight into the factors which have brought the family to their present situation, and to assess their potentialities and limitations.

But fundamental to the work is the relationship between the worker and the family. This relationship is one in which the members of the family are accepted as they are, without criticism, and with all their limitations, but with confidence in their possibilities and capacity to change. It is a warm, understanding relationship, involving genuine concern for the family, which evokes in them a desire to achieve better things and a growing confidence in their ability to live like other people.

Friendship remains the foundation of the service.

Pacifism in practice . . .

The Peace Pledge Union is organising immediately, for those pacifists who feel that their best witness in war time is the service of humanity, the Pacifist Service Corps.—Peace News, September 8, 1939.

There should be no question of the Bureau—formerly the Pacifist Service Corps being at the disposal of the Government.—Peace News, September 29.

The functions of the Pacifist Service Bureau (include) . . . to encourage new Social Service efforts.—Peace News, December 15, 1939.

THE BLITZ

During the two months since the formation of Pacifist Service Units the need for succour and relief has immeasurably increased . . . staffing all-night shelters and first aid posts and temporary evacuation centres, first aid to victims of high explosive bombs.—Peace News, September 20, 1940.

While the People's Convention was assembling in its thousands last week-end to vote solidarity with the Soviet Union, a much smaller gathering was being held nearby which was also not without its significance . . . the first annual meeting of Pacifist Service Units. The energies of the Units are more or less evenly divided in emergency work arising after bombardment and in more subtle social work.—Peace News, July 11, 1941.

Units are convinced that there is almost unlimited need for the kind of service they try to give (particularly in family case-work), and they badly need new personnel both to ease the strain and to enable them to take on some of the work which they are reluctantly compelled to turn down at present.—Peace News, December 17, 1943.

WHAT MANCHESTER DOES . . .

A public event of great interest to supporters of pacifist service took place in Manchester Town Hall when the inaugural

AN International Institute of Child Development is to be established by Unesco at Bangkok, Thailand, this year. This Institute, which will be the first of its kind in the world, will embark on a programme of cross-cultural research into child psychology, particularly as it applies to education.

It will provide a practical service to certain schools of all types in the region of Bangkok, thus testing and disseminating the results of its more fundamental enquiries.

At the same time, the Institute will provide advanced training in applied educational psychology for a small international group of experienced teachers and others.

Help for Korea

THE Oxford Committee for Famine Relief has despatched nearly 15 tons of relief supplies to Korea through the UN Korean Reconstruction Agency. The consignment consisted of 12½ tons of clothing, and a large quantity of chocolate, sweets, biscuits and soap, given by sympathetic commercial firms.

This is not the Committee's first consignment of supplies to Korea. The Admiralty has made space available on several occasions and 30 tons of clothing have already been sent through them. With hundreds of thousands of refugees still to clothe, further supplies are required and will always be gratefully received by the Oxford Committee at their London depot, c/o Davies Turner and Co., 50a Bourne Street, S.W.1.

In addition large monetary grants for immediate relief work, totalling over £5,000 have been made. Of this, £2,000 was earmarked for the part maintenance of 150 orphans for 12 months.

The Oxford Committee have in mind further schemes in Korea if resources permit. Gifts will be thankfully received by the Hon. Treasurer at 17 Broad Street, Oxford.

meeting of the Manchester and Salford Family Service Unit was held.

The Rt. Hon. Lord Balfour of Burleigh . . . told how he learned of the work of the Pacifist Service Units through reading a review of their book "Problem Families" in the Manchester Guardian in January 1946 and of the steps he took in co-operation with the PSU to form a National Committee to take over the work.—Peace News, December 5, 1947.

. . . and what they say

. . . If there were more Family Service Units—a new and most wonderful form of social service through which the workers become almost identified with the family—many more of the near-breakdown homes could be stabilized, so that the children could be left in the place to which they rightfully belong.—Basil Henriques, News of the World, July 26, 1953.

. . . the Home Office, the Managers and Staff of Approved Schools could not do better than study the work of the Family Service Units.—Assoc. of Headmasters, Headmistresses and Matrons of Approved Schools, "After-Care in Approved Schools" April, 1952.

"Whoever works with a problem family must convince them that he is on their side. That seems to be the secret of the success of the Family Service Units . . . The technique which the Unit workers adopted to combat demoralisation was a masterpiece of psychological realism."—Dr. D. H. Stott, "Saving Children from Delinquency."

"I would like to express my immense admiration and praise for the work of the Family Service Units, a really heroic venture of love and care and the kind or remedial work which is best done on a voluntary basis."—Lord Bishop of Sheffield, House of Lords, May 20, 1953.

COs save attendant

TWO American conscientious objectors assigned to civilian work are credited with saving the life of an attendant at the Colorado State Hospital, Pueblo, Colorado. The attendant, not a CO, was disliked by the mental patients.

Some patients attacked the attendant, wounded him, and a riot started. Two conscientious objectors entered the ward during the riot and brought out the injured man. The men used chairs to ward off blows with bottles and clubs. They were also successful in talking the patients into ending the riot.

During the riot no one else was allowed to enter the ward, because the authorities thought that it would only endanger additional lives. The CO's feel that the successful conclusion of the incident would not have been possible except for the friendly relationship previously established with the patients.

Delinquency and the colour bar

● from page four

face and the disgraceful phrase "no coloureds," in the accommodation ads. Inevitably he drifts towards the downtown areas where the out-cast communities congregate.

There he gets a filthy room maybe in a house with a group of broken-hearted men who set out on the same adventure some years before and have already given up hope and scruples.

In the Negro areas of Liverpool, London, Cardiff, Newcastle, Glasgow, the sense of separateness grows. More, far more, than the lack of a job is the lack of a welcome in a country from which the teachers and missionaries came who taught about a Commonwealth and a Kingdom. Cut off, turned out, unwanted, there is little wonder that some coloured people in Britain turn to crime.

That the proportion is so small is a tribute to qualities we might well admire.

Africans and Jamaicans argue that if Britishers may go to their countries to make money and get jobs, have they not the right to come here and do the same?

There is no suggestion that the Commonwealth is a one-way business.

That there are jobs for colonial citizens to do is shown by the recent affair in Birmingham where the local authority was anxious to employ several hundred coloured men as platform staff on its public vehicles, hesitated because of a threat that the conductresses would resign, and then, to its credit, disregarded the threat and decided to employ them anyway.

Plenty of jobs

In the mines, factories, public utilities and farms of Britain there are jobs enough for willing men to do, and until such time as Britain recognises in its colonies the right for the indigenous inhabitants themselves to determine who will enter their lands and profit therefrom, she has no moral right to prevent a reciprocal traffic.

The long-term solution is to improve the conditions of life and employment in the homelands of those who are driven to come to Britain seeking work.

The immediate practical answer is to dispense with the ungracious and ignorant attitudes and policies which keep the black man out of full participation in the life of our society.

We can do this by giving him jobs in our shops, factories and offices, by welcoming him into our trade unions, clubs and churches, by taking him into our homes, giving him a room in our boarding houses in any district he chooses, by having him to speak to us at our study groups, remembering all the time that the wealth and comfort of Britain was bought with the sweat and blood of him and his fathers for generations past.

MAINLY ABOUT BOOKS

No hope for Kenya here

Opportunity in Kenya: A Report to the Fabian Colonial Bureau. Fabian Publications Ltd. Gollancz, 2s.

DESPITE the many useful facts, the indispensable figures and the immense goodwill and sincerity of this pamphlet, which make it an essential part of the democrat's library, OPPORTUNITY IN KENYA is a timid and insipid document.

Its authors have mastered their subject but have not had the courage to attempt radical solutions or even analyses, they have written one of the unexceptionable and uninspired research brochures which provide statistics and material for the academic lecturer, but which fail to make a political impact on their readers.

The Fabian authors are not in favour of the colour bar, of exploitation or of imperialism, but their booklet will do nothing to eliminate these evils. They have done a useful job, but in a situation such as that which faces the Left today, with a renaissance and vigorous colonialism waging cruel war in Africa, Malaya and Indo-China, they have trod too lightly, walked too warily, to sway even a Colonial Office Under-Secretary, let alone a White Settler!

Kenya's only hope lies in a radical, perhaps even a socialist and co-operative, revolution made, without bloodshed, by the Kenya people. It must be a revolution that initiates the breakdown and elimination of the Colour Bar and all forms of discrimination and concedes fundamental liberties to the African, no less than to the Asian and European. So it should be the task of the Left and Labour Movements

"Peace is poor reading"

"War makes rattling good reading... Peace is poor reading."

—"THE BOOK WINDOW" (W. H. Smith & Son).

*The silent conquest of the topmost snow
On Everest, or Arctic, hard to breathe,
These take their toll of human courage, so
Their "ardours and endurance" bequeathe.*

"Peace is poor reading"—thus the headlines go.

*And History demands the sabre's rattle;
"Let loose the atom bomb," is the refrain,
Nothing is worth recording but the battle!*

*Thus Tweedledum and Tweedledee continue
Their fruitless warfare in this stricken world;*

But some there be who'd rather thigh and sinew

Were used to raise a Peace Flag, yet unfurled.

History is man's story; just as well

Adventurous, for dispensing with man's slaughter;

*The moving finger writes—and who shall tell
The true inheritor of Clio's daughter?*

PHYLLIS VALLANCE.

Clio: Muse of History.

to prepare the way for a Kenya revolution and to express its legitimate demands.

With "OPPORTUNITY IN KENYA," the Fabian Colonial Bureau has demonstrated again that its role is still that of an extra-mural department of a "shadow" Colonial Office. One still hopes for some Socialist body to publish a thorough and forthright analysis of Kenya from a Socialist point of view.

O. CALDECOTT.

Revolt of the pacifists

SHOULD there be a Pacifist Church of Christ?

Arguments for and against its establishment, expressed by the Rev. Leslie Jollie, B.D., M.Th., and Frank Hancock are set side by side in the December 1953 issue of the newsletter of the Movement for a Pacifist Church of Christ.

"For me the matter of a Pacifist Church remains a grave mistake," said the Rev. Leslie Jollie in a letter to Frank Hancock. He continued:

"I feel it is not only not necessary; it is impossible. Christian history shows clearly that there is only one way in which a company of Christians can constitute themselves as a separate part of the body of Christ, and that is when the Church to which they belong outlaws them, or refuses them liberty within the Church on the ground of their deep convictions."

This position, he pointed out, is not to be found in the Church today. There is no Church which excludes pacifists, forbids them freedom to propagate their views, or prevents their living consistently with their pacifist convictions.

For him the establishment of such a Church would not only "break the fundamental fellowship which exists (for me) with many hundreds of Christian friends who do not share my convictions," but would seem to imply that these Christian friends were considered un-Christian: an "appalling judgement." It would be "a grave mistake, and a further rending of the Body of Christ."

The Church and napalm bombs

In reply to the Rev. Leslie Jollie, Frank Hancock questioned his assumption that the Church is in fact the Body of Christ:

"The World Council of the Church officially supported the Korean War and therefore assumed responsibility for the savagery which resulted. Is it seriously suggested that the Church today is any more the 'Body of Christ' as its enemies are consumed by the napalm bomb, than when Protestants and Catholics burned one another by a somewhat slower process at Smithfield?"

For here lies the real difficulty, he pointed out. The Church's attitude to war is not a trifling difference of abstract theology: it is fundamental.

"It is not as you contend that we pacifists denounce our friendship with other Christians. We never think of making this 'appalling judgement.' All we say is that we worship a God who, in one far reaching respect, is com-

A Dream of Harmony

WHILST staying in a distant city recently I was invited to a concert. Hailing a taxi, I was alarmed to see the driver roll back his sleeves and double his fists in a threatening fashion as he asked me to step inside. I decided to go by bus. The bus conductor drew a razor from his pocket and playfully brandished it before my face, calling me to, "Hurry along please." I did so, but on foot.

As I approached the concert hall the commissioners picked up half bricks and stones and began to take aim at me as they shouted, "Stalls and circle this way, sir." I dodged round a corner and peeped through a window into the Hall. On the platform the musicians were busily setting up a formidable array of weapons pointing towards the auditorium. A policeman tapped me on the shoulder, so I asked him the meaning of the evening's events. He scowled fiercely at me and explained that in that city they believed that such behaviour as I had encountered was the best way to persuade people to come to the concert, and he added, as he raised his truncheon menacingly, "Just you comelongerme, sir."

Happily I woke from this lunatic dream, only to read in my newspaper that the Minister of Defence had said at a Press Conference that "Britain's aim in rearming was to persuade Russia to come to the Conference table and agree to conditions which would lead to peace." S. D. S.

pletely different from theirs, and I repeat this is not some minor difference of doctrine, such as split Church from Church two hundred years ago, but something vital to our whole conception of God.

"If God is ever a God of Battles; if he needs today the defence of atom bombers, how can we ever worship HIM and present Him as a God of love? It is as serious as that to some of us..."

"We are still amazed after all these years of controversy to be told by a Minister who is a pacifist, that we are making a 'grave mistake'."

Christians in a World of conflict

THE 1954 Summer Conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, to be held at Darley Dale, Nr. Matlock, from July 31 to August 7, will have as its general subject "Christians in a World of Conflict."

The Rev. Dr. R. Tudur Jones of Bala Bangor College will deliver a series of lectures on Christian Principles of Social Action. Other speakers will include John Ferguson, Chairman of the Fellowship and author of "The Enthronement of Love"; Denis Hayes, solicitor and author of "Challenge of Conscience"; The Rev. Alan Knott, recently returned from Tiger Kloof College in Africa; Miss Elisabeth Monastier of Switzerland and Professor Siegmund Schultze of Germany. Mrs. Eldora Ferguson will be Hostess.

Copies of a brochure are available from the Fellowship of Reconciliation, 29 Great James Street.

The religion of Communism

"UNWILLING JOURNEY" by Helmut Gollwitzer (SCM Press, 16s.) is another book about Russia.

One might expect that we had almost reached saturation point in the literature concerning the glories and devils of Russia.

As most of these books are very depressing in their descriptions of cruelties and evils, where indeed they are not just concealed propaganda, it is surprising that there are not more "unwilling readers."

One does well to be discriminating as to the books one reads on Russia. There have been too many books which are very superficial, too many by bitter men who have "rattled" on their old party, too many by selected people who have stayed a few days on a conducted tour.

This book is somewhat different. It is published by the Student Christian Movement, so we do not expect any pro-Russian bias. The author was a German prisoner of war in Russia from 1945 to 1950. A theologian, he succeeded his friend, Pastor Niemöller at Dahlem in Berlin and now occupies the Chair of Theology in the Bonn University.

In 1940, whilst a Professor in the Confessional Church, he was expelled from Berlin by the Nazis and later conscripted into the German Army. He served first as an Infantryman and later as a Medical Orderly on the Eastern Front.

From 1933 he belonged to the extreme Socialist Left in Germany. At the same time he accepted what we should regard in this country as very decided "fundamentalist" views on religion—a very unusual combination of convictions.

Five simple questions

This book is in fact three things in one; it is a description of the author's profound religious experience, a description of his life as a prisoner of war, and a closely reasoned, but for the most part simple exposition of the Communist philosophy and life.

When one reads books on Russia it is important to ask five simple questions: Is the writer truthful? Does he exaggerate? Is he biased to start with? Has he sufficient experience of the country? Does he give the opposite side as well as his own?

If we apply these criteria to Helmut Gollwitzer I think that the answer is reasonably favourable to him.

As to truth, I was able to apply a personal standard. I was a prisoner of war under very much more advantageous conditions, but his

"spiritual" experiences as a prisoner were very real to me as he tells of them.

Moreover when he describes certain brutalities, he immediately points that allowances should be made for the fact that it was necessary to preserve this first socialist country surrounded as it was by hostile powers, that it was claimed that the future happiness of mankind justified rigorous action and that you cannot measure Russian by Western standards.

The hardships and cruelties suffered by prisoners were so terrible as almost to baffle the imagination (especially in the earlier years) and many died under them, but Gollwitzer points out that the Germans had devastated Russia, and that there was a certain justice in using their forced labour to rebuild what they had destroyed, that the Germans had been more brutal to their prisoners and that in these years the Russian population itself was on the verge of starvation and that prisoners could not expect preferential treatment.

Throughout the book his condemnation of the wrongdoings of his own countrymen is quite as strong as his condemnation of the Russians.

Christianity and Socialism

In 1947 he was transferred to a privileged camp near Moscow, where prisoners thought to be favourable to the Communist regime were sent for "indoctrination," subsequently to be sent back to Eastern Germany as administrators or to Western Germany for other purposes. Here for nearly two years he was able to make a thorough study of Marxism and Stalinism and to gain an intimate knowledge of the practical inside working and methods of the philosophy.

Forcefully, he points out that Communism is a philosophy plus Socialism; that is based on the supposed "Scientific" and agnostic interpretation of life which is the opposite of the Christian conception; that it is in fact a "religion"; that whilst in England many Christians were the pioneers of Socialism this was because there was no clash between their Christianity and their Socialism—quite the reverse. It is quite different where a materialistic creed is an essential part of the political and economic one.

It is a sad book. The veneer of civilisation in Central Europe in this last generation is shown to be almost non-existent. He may be mistaken, he may be biased, but if a tenth of this "Diary from Russia" is true, it is completely devastating.

WALLACE HANCOCK.

CONSCRIPTION AND DELINQUENCY

How can we atone to youth for the serious wrong they suffer at the hands of Society?

For every boy (and indirectly, girl) falling into delinquency as a result of conscription or pre-call-up frustration, how many others suffer less obvious but serious and permanent harm? Ten...? Twenty...? We only know that the sum total is appalling.

It is not enough to oppose conscription, important as that is. The need is for disinterested service to help boys and girls develop a balanced character, and a sense of ultimate purpose in life, which will help them to withstand the strains awaiting them. This does not merely mitigate the effects of conscription; it will have its fuller value when conscription is abolished.

Yet most character forming youth organisations find difficulty in recruiting enough suitable leaders and helpers. This is true of Sunday Schools as well as those like Scouts or Youth Clubs.

Such service has always been important. Now it is vital. Do what you can in your own locality. If in need of information or suggestions, M. P., c/o Fellowship of Reconciliation, 29 Great James' Street, W.C.1, will be glad to advise.

Men and Women of Christian Ideals and Integrity urgently needed to serve youth in Sunday Schools, Clubs, and other character forming organisations.

★ **IMPORTANT** It is especially valuable to persuade suitably mature young men awaiting call-up to the forces to give service of this kind—valuable to them and doubly so to the younger ones with whom they can have the steadying influence of "big brother."

The school-age problem child

From page four

homes as being "beyond control" or "in need of care and protection."

Furthermore we see these children grow up and marry and there emerges again the all too familiar pattern of living associated with problem families.

The large class

Even the child who is not of low intelligence but has missed some schooling finds it hard to catch up in a class of 40 or more children and he may well begin to lose heart, play truant, and eventually find himself before a juvenile court either because of persistent truancy or because he has got into trouble while trying to occupy himself out of school, or because sheer desperation and isolation have made him a problem child.

This is more likely to happen if the child's home background is bad and he finds no emotional satisfaction and security there.

The combination of an unsatisfactory home, educational backwardness and truancy is frequently met and there is no hope of the school giving the child stability and assurance if the teacher is struggling with a large class in an overcrowded room in a hopelessly out of date school or makeshift premises and his only relationship with the children is that of a harassed overseer. Conditions such as this are by no means uncommon in many parts of the country and they make a mockery of the good intentions behind the Education Act of 1944.

Facilities for play

Leisure time activities for schoolchildren are inadequate and often unimaginative. Youth clubs usually concentrate on the teen-agers and leave the younger children to amuse themselves. This is probably a good thing if the children have good homes and parents and where there are facilities for adventurous play but what of the crowded streets of our industrial towns or the formal streets of new housing estates where ball games and noisy activities are forbidden.

CONSCRIPTION AND CRIME

We know the connection—do you? For all aspects of the case against Conscript, contact

NO CONSCRIPTION COUNCIL

Crestfield Street, London W.C.1.

The Young Conscript needs us—We Need You

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select notices for publication. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

Friday, March 26

BRISTOL: 7.30 p.m.: Central Hall, Pacifist Brains Trust. Vera Brittain, Stuart Morris, Minnie Pallister, Victor Yates. Question Master: Sybil Morrison. Admission 1s. PPU.

Saturday, March 27

ENFIELD HIGHWAY: All-day demonstration and meetings. See advertisement, page 8. NVR, PYAG, PPU.

MORLEY (nr. Leeds): 7 p.m.: Friends' Adult School, Ackroyd St. Three-Act Play, "The Flowers of the Forest," by John van Druten. Presented by Endsleigh Players. PPU.

TAUNTON: 7 p.m.: Public Library. Stuart Morris. PPU.

Saturday-Sunday, March 27-28

HARROGATE: For Area Conference at Beechwood Ct. Hotel, Cold Bath Rd. Speaker, John Ferguson. Details from Joyce Keeling, Flat 3, 31 Cromer Terr., Leeds, 2.

Sunday, March 28

BATH: 7.45 p.m.: 11 Grosvenor Pl. Stuart Morris, "Speaking Peace in America." PPU.

LONDON, N.10: 7.45 p.m.: 45 Queens Ave., Muswell Hill. Herr Hellman, vice-president of the German Social Democratic Assn. of Gt. Britain, "The Berlin Conference and German Rearmament." LPP.

Tuesday, March 30

LONDON, W.C.1: 7 p.m.: South Place Ethical Society, Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq. Stuart Morris, "Pacifism—a Practical Way to Peace."

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.15 p.m. (refreshments 6.30): Dick Sheppard Hs., 6 Endsleigh St. London Area AGM. PPU.

RICHMOND: 8 p.m.: Vernon Hall, Vernon Rd., E. Sheen. N. Bhargava, "What Does Judaism Mean?" PPU.

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.: Deansgate Bldg Site. Christian pacifist open-air meeting. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

Wednesday, March 31

LEEDS: 7.30 p.m.: 27 The Avenue, Alwoodley. Rabbi Brown, BA, "Jewish Customs and Traditions." APF.

LONDON, N.4: 7 p.m.: Pacifist Youth Action Group mtg. 3 Blackstock Rd., Finsbury Pk.

NOTTINGHAM: 1.15 p.m.: Open-air mtg. Old Market Sq. Rev. Donald Pipe and others. For, PPU.

Thursday, April 1

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.: Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Dr. John Barnard, "Equal Pay." PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.: Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m.: Lincoln's Inn Fields. Open-air mtg. Sybil Morrison. PPU.

Friday, April 2

BELEST: 7.45 p.m.: Friends' Inst., Frederick St. Prof. C. F. Carter, "Economic Aid for Under-developed Areas." For.

British atomic bombs

From the Field Secretary of the Peace Committee of the Society of Friends (Quakers).

AS we all know it has recently been announced that the British RAF is to be armed with atomic bombs, and the British army with atomic artillery. As in the case of the momentous closing of the British Parliament by Oliver Cromwell, "not a dog barked"—hardly a word of protest has been uttered.

Yet the decision means that now only one more nation has provided itself with a weapon the general use of which would lead to the annihilation of humanity; also that we have armed ourselves against ourselves.

In the defence debate which took place in the House of Commons, December 6, 1951, the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, expressed himself as gravely concerned lest the presence of great atomic bombing fleets in East Anglia "may throw the brunt on us should war come," i.e., make us subject to fulminating reprisals. This was also anticipated by Mr. Secretary Forrestal in his Letters dealing with the original despatch to Britain of the American atomic bombers.

If on the highest authority the risk of reprisals makes the presence of American atomic bombing fleets a deadly menace to our crowded little island which forms so admirable a target—in striking contrast to our potential enemies—then how much greater is the danger we are bringing on ourselves by becoming not merely the "American aircraft carrier" but self armed with the atomic bomb, i.e., a primary not a secondary enemy.

In effect by this fatal decision we are deliberately inviting upon the children, not merely of Moscow or Leningrad, but of London, Birmingham, Manchester and Glasgow, the horrors, infinitely increased because of the qualities of the new H-bombs, which fell upon the children of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

The atomic arming of the RAF must take time. Is there not a hope that in the meantime an effective protest may be made against this policy of suicide?

JOHN S. HOYLAND.

Britain's Iron Curtain

RECENTLY an organisation called the Belfast Assembly of Women invited four women from the Soviet Republics to spend a fortnight in Belfast. The offer was accepted, but visas were refused by the British Home Secretary.

The British Government has often said that it desires friendly relations with Russia, and complains of Russian isolationism. British non-Communist visitors to Russia have been courteously received and well treated. These facts speak for themselves.

TOM SULLIVAN.

31 Knockbreda Park, Belfast.

Atomic energy and moral issues

DOUBTLESS some of your readers have read the "Biological Hazards of Atomic Energy," being the papers read at the conference convened by the Institute of Biology

LETTERS

and the Atomic Scientists' Association, October, 1950. If so they should have found the clue to the "moral issue" in their revulsion to the abominable experiments carried out on animals in the interest of atomic research.

Professor Lonsdale, in her contribution to these papers, writes: "Incidentally although I am not an anti-vivisectionist, it does make my blood run cold to hear of mass experiments carried out on animals to test the consequences of atomic weapons. This seems to me just as ghastly as the use of the weapons themselves—but that is rather by the way."

May I humbly suggest that this question cannot be regarded as "incidental" and "by the way," but is a most vital issue; for by these cruel practices the conscience is dulled, and those who participate in them become unfit to make moral judgments.

HERMIA RENYARDE.

96 Clare Road, Whitstable, Kent.

Alfayo Agufana

THE news that an African, Alfayo Agufana, has been condemned to death for being in possession of two bullets, must have shocked every one of your readers.

This sentence seems the more savage when it is remembered that the man condemned lived in non-Kikuyu country and that no reports of terrorism had been received from that part where he lived. And again when it is compared with the sentences imposed for acts of brutality against the native population.

Might I beg space in your columns to urge readers to make known to their MPs and others the disgust this sentence has created.

Wm. CREIGHTON.

101 Meeting Lane, Perth, Warrington.

Non-violence in the treatment of the hardened criminal

* From page four

associated with it; the defenceless women want to make curtains or an altar-cloth for the chapel; the now defenceless men to become visitors or teachers.

Now, at the very end of the scale, we have prisoners with shocking records completing sentences of eight or ten years preventive detention, and some of these men are living in a hostel within a prison wall, but going out daily to ordinary work in local workshops and factories, and at Christmas each of them went as a guest to a private family in the district.

These are pointers to the way to restore non-social or non-co-operative members of the community and to help them to become normal citizens. Repression and violence have had their day. Training, treatment, social work and psychiatry now take their place, but even these are inadequate without public understanding.

The experiments in open institutions help to provide this essential factor—they remove

Way out in Kenya

TO buy out the settlers in Kenya and bring them home is neither the only way out as is suggested in "Behind the News" (PN, Mar. 12) nor even the best way. Better would be the plan suggested by Mr. A. G. Bottomley, MP, a member of the Parliamentary delegation to Kenya. Writing in Reynolds News recently, he advocated the taxation of land values for Kenya because it would make land available to all who wished to use it, promote its best use, and would make available to government an ever-increasing fund which could be used for the provision of social services and in lieu of the wicked poll tax.

P. R. STUBBINGS.

388 Finchley Road, Child's Hill, NW2.

Independent states

JOHN NIBB (PN, March 5) urges us to eliminate "independent states" as a means of preventing war.

But fighting is the result of "our lusts that war in our members" and not of systems. Any system becomes hell or heaven depending on the diabolic or angelic nature of the men who run it.

If we refuse nations responsibility, we begin the disintegration of their society and deny them the freedom to choose their own way.

GERALD BATE.

14 Crawford Ave.,

Roe Green, Worsley, Nr. Manchester.

Two pacifist canons

I fail to understand why the Office of the Duchy of Cornwall objects to Canon Harman because of his pacifism when Canon Raven was recently made a Queen's Chaplain.

DONALD A. E. CROSS.

Ringwood, Hants.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning before publication.

MEETINGS

ABBE PIERRE speaks at One World—Or None Great Public Mtg. in Central Hall, Westminster, on Tuesday, March 30, at 7 p.m. (Doors open 6.30 p.m.). Speakers include: Rt. Hon. Clement Davies, MP; Henry Osborne, MP; Signora Chiesla Tibaldi (Italy); I. J. Pitman, MP; A. A. Vondeling, MP (Holland); Prof. Hugo Osvald (Sweden). Chairman: Gilbert McAllister. Admission Free. Reserved seats, 5s. and 6d., from Parliamentary Ave. for World Government, 21 Hampstead Lane, Highgate Village, N.6, or Federal Union and Crusade for World Government, 20 Buckingham St., W.C.2. (TRA 2275.)

GERMANY. Emergency Conference, Beaver Hall, London. Saturday afternoon and Sunday, April 3 and 4, for individuals and organisations seeking a peaceful alternative to the policy of rebuilding German militarism. Details, admission tickets, etc., from British Peace Cttee., 81 City Rd., E.C.1.

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath. Every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

KING'S WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke St., nr. Bond St. Tube. Sunday at 7 p.m. The Gospel of Peace. Rev. Claud M. Colman, MA, B.I.H.

LABOUR PARTY members should attend a Conference at the Alliance Hall, Palmer St., Westminster, on Saturday, April 3, at 2.30 p.m., on "World Peace—A Challenge to Labour." Speakers: Victor Yates, MP, and James Avery Joyce, Chairman. George Thomas, MP. Tickets, price 1s. 6d., from Miss O. Troughton, 284 Ears Ct. Rd., S.W.5 (Frobisher 3553). This Conference has been arranged by the Labour Peace Fellowship.

LEWISHAM Film Society, LEE 7803. Unitarian Church, next Central Library, Saturday, March 27, 7.15. Peace film, "Kip van Winkle," with film from Arabia and ballet.

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BRITAIN'S OLDEST SOCIALIST WEEKLY—vigorous, forthright and consistently against war—the "Socialist Leader." Indispensable to members of the PPU who want up-to-date information of home and world politics. Threepence weekly. Obtainable from your newsgator or from 48 Dundas St., Glasgow, C.1, and 318 Regent Park Rd., Finchley, London, N.3.

GERMANY—the threat and the peaceful alternative, by Gordon Schaffer. 16 pages illustrated, 4d., from the British Peace Cttee., 81 City Rd., E.C.1.

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FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION has senior secretarial vacancy. Essentials: vocation for service within For; organising ability; aptitude for youth-leadership. Apply General Secretary, 29 Gt. James St., London, W.C.1.

PEACE WORK is available for all volunteers at Peace News office. Daytime and every Wednesday evening we shall be grateful for help. Write, phone or just drop in to Peace News (Stamford Hill 2262), 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish & Cook, stationers), Finsbury Park, N.4.

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DIARY

Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address) —preferably in that order and style.

ELTHAM: 7.30 p.m.: Room 1, Progress Hall, Admiral Seymour Rd., New Eltham, S.E.9. Hugh Brock. The WRI Conference and The Third Camp. PPU.

KETERING: 7.30 p.m.: Friends' Mtg. Ho., Northall St. Public Mtg. John Ferguson, "Race Relations." For.

Saturday, April 3

LEYTON: 7 p.m.: Unitarian Church. Hall, Lea Bridge Rd. (opp. Essex Rd.). Concert. Bring-and-Buy Sale. Refreshments. Country Dancing. Reunion of E.10 and E.11 PPU Group. PPU.

LONDON, S.W.1: 2.30 p.m.: Alliance Hall, Palmer St. Victor Yates, MP, James Avery Joyce, "World Peace a Challenge to Labour." Delegate Conference. Chair, George Thomas, MP. LPP.

Saturday-Sunday, April 3-4

ILKLEY: Hollybrook Guest Ho., Queens Rd., Weekend School and House Party. Wilfred Wellock, "Creative Peace-making." PPU, Yorks Area. Details from Ken Chadwick, 35 Berkeley Ave., Leeds, 8.

Sunday, April 4

LONDON, W.11: 3.30 p.m.: Studio, 29 Addison Ave. (nr. Holland Pk. Stn.). Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse, Allen Skinner, "The Need for Frank Religious Restatement." PPU Religion Commission.

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THE TIMES AND GERM WARFARE

□ From Page One

and goats will be submitted to a bacteriological attack to ascertain what effect certain antidotes will have on infected animals.

"The British Government takes care to emphasise the defensive character of these experiments. It affirms that it has no right to neglect any method of defence even against bacteriological attack prohibited by the laws of war.

"The experts, like the public, often ask themselves if these defence preparations can be separated from experiments in the possible offensive.

"But if the news that has appeared in the Press does not give much comfort to the public, the official communiqué has taken care to reassure certain traditional measures by declaring that specialists in the prevention of cruelty to animals have been consulted in order that the experiments will be conducted in a humane fashion."

Here is what the military correspondent of The Times had to say on the matter (March 13, 1954) under the headlines: *Germans as War Weapons, Demands on Civil Defence*:

"The biological warfare tests . . . are of obvious assistance to the Ministry of Supply, and the Home Office in shaping Civil Defence Policy.

"Biological warfare is an unpleasant subject which no Power can ignore in its defence arrangements. Its value as a military weapon has been probably exaggerated. . .

DUSTS AND POISONS

"Some believe that bacterial agents would be less damaging than chemical gases (the use of either would be contrary to the Geneva Protocol of 1925) or radio active dusts and poisons.

"The weapon is untried and its efficiency highly speculative. Its notable characteristic is that it can be mass-produced without the need for large industrial resources.

"There are two main types of bacterial warfare agents. The first consists of insects and similar pests, used to attack food and crops, or as carriers for disease; such a weapon constitutes only a minor threat.

"The other group is composed of micro-organisms—bacteria, fungi and viruses—which are invisible to the naked eye, which might be used against persons, animals and plants.

"These are the real problem. Under congenial conditions they can multiply fast, but for military purposes a bacterial warfare agent must have special characteristics to be suitable for dissemination from aircraft in area cloud attacks. It must be extremely virulent so that a very small dose would be effective. It must kill or disable its victim. It must be stable and shock-proof during delivery. It should be capable of being inhaled, be easily produced in bulk and of a kind against which the enemy population has little or no immunity.

"Some such organisms are killed by boiling water, or by bright sunlight or die through long storage. There is a widely held belief that a few very potent bacteria released in a large city would wipe out a whole population, but the experts think this is highly improbable in a community with modern standards of sanitation and hygiene."

And now for the question and answers in the House of Commons March 22, 1954.

After I had questioned the Minister of Supply about the cost of these experiments Mr. Noel Baker rose to ask:

Do the Government still adhere to the proposal which this country has frequently put forward for the total abolition of bacteriological warfare as a weapon of mass destruction; and has the right hon. Gentleman any scientists working in connection with the international control required to make the abolition effective?"

MR. SANDYS: Our policy, like that of the late Government, is to make ourselves so well prepared against germ warfare that no aggressor would think it worth while to attack us by these revolting methods, and I am sure that we are better serving humanity by facing up squarely to these dangers than by hiding our heads like ostriches, and like the hon. Member for South Ayrshire. (Mr. Emrys Hughes).

MR. NOEL-BAKER: Are the Government also preparing for effective abolition by international agreement?

MR. SANDYS: The right hon. Gentleman can be assured, though I am speaking without consultation with my right hon. Friend the Foreign Secretary but without any hesitation, that we shall be only too glad to find any means which will ensure the abolition of these

Mr. Faithfull Davies

We regret that unavoidable circumstances have prevented Mr. Faithfull Davies from contributing to this special issue of Peace News. The next article in the series "Russian changes after Stalin," will appear next week.

Tomorrow (Saturday) you must come to ENFIELD HIGHWAY

Buses 107a, 649, 659, 679

- 11.0 a.m. Poster parade from The Bell Inn, Hertford Road, Enfield Highway to Royal Small Arms Factory, Enfield Lock.
- 2.15 p.m. Poster parade along Enfield Highway.
- 2.30-7.00 p.m. PEACE EXHIBITION and bookstall Small Co-operative Hall, Hertford Road, buffet from 4.30 p.m. Admission free
- 3.00 p.m. Open-air meeting by The Bell Inn.
- 7.00 p.m. "ANY QUESTIONS?" session opened by J. Allen Skinner, Editor of Peace News. Panel: Archie French (Question Master); Hugh Brock, Connie Jones, Michael Randle, Tom Wardle.

Non-violent Resistance Group, Pacifist Youth Action Group, Enfield Peace Pledge Union.

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methods—I have already described them as "revolting"—of conducting war.

MR. S. SILVERMAN: Is not the right hon. Gentleman aware that the thing is already covered in international law by a Geneva Convention against bacteriological or biological warfare, which Convention this country has ratified, together with a great many other countries? Does the answer of the right hon. Gentleman mean that pressure or representations are still being made to the United States, who, so far, have not ratified the Convention?

MR. SANDYS: I do not know how the hon. Gentleman can read that into my answer.

MR. HUGHES: In view of the unsatisfactory nature of the Minister's reply, and in order to decide who is the ostrich, I give notice that I shall raise the matter on the Adjournment.

MUSIC FOR PEACE

THE Peace News Musical Evenings were resumed in London last Friday, when readers from most parts of London met at the Westminster Friends Meeting House. Nancy Edmonds, a singer well-known to pacifists in London, gave attractive renderings of songs by Bach and a variety of Russian composers; Peter Twilley played an interestingly varied programme of short piano works; verse by T. S. Eliot and Wilfred Owen was read by Peace News voluntary worker George Gregory and Harry Mister sang Elizabethan and traditional tenor ballads.

RECITAL FOR COTTAGE HOMES

Marjorie Gullan will give a recital of prose and poetry including items on peace and war at Friends House, London, N.W.1., on Wednesday, March 31, at 7 pm. There will be a silver collection, proceeds to go to The Bernhard Baron Cottage Homes, Polegate (nr. Eastbourne) for the continuance of work for elderly people begun by pacifists and others during the war. There will be a social hour from 6 to 7 pm with refreshments at 1s. 6d.



New Chairman and four Sponsors for PPU

HUGH BROCK, Assistant Editor of Peace News and member of the Non-violent Resistance Group, has been elected chairman of the Peace Pledge Union, the British section of the War Resisters' International. He is 39 and will take up office at the next Annual General Meeting of the PPU.

Hugh Brock, who is married and has two children, joined the PPU in 1941. During the war he was imprisoned for taking a stand as an absolutist conscientious objector, having refused to register for military service.

He has served for a number of years on the Campaign Committee of the PPU and as Chairman of London Area.

The retiring chairman, Sybil Morrison, has held the office for a full term of three years.

Britten and Pears to perform

Benjamin Britten, leading British composer and Peter Pears, well-known tenor, will appear at the social of the Peace Pledge Union held in conjunction with the Annual General Meeting which takes place on Saturday and Sunday April 24 and 25, at Mary Ward Hall, Tavistock Place, London W.C.1.

In view of the anticipated attendance the PPU has decided that first claim on available accommodation for the recital will be given to those who will be present at the AGM. Tickets for the social (2s. 6d. including refreshments) will, therefore, only be issued in the first instance to those who also apply for tickets for the AGM (1s. each).

Four sponsors

Dr. Alex Comfort; Professor Kathleen Lonsdale, FRs; Minnie Pallister and Lady Wedgwood, have expressed their willingness to become sponsors of the Peace Pledge Union. Already sponsors are Vera Brittain; Benjamin Britten, CH; Laurence Housman; Aldous Huxley; Stuart Morris; Claire Sheridan; Dame Sybil Thorndike and Michael Tippett.

Nominations for National Council

Groups and members of the PPU are reminded that nominations for the list of members from which the Area Representatives will select the six additional members of PPU National Council must reach the Secretary,

IN A YOUTH CLUB?

A SUBSCRIBER writes: "... your paper has a wide reading in the Youth Club and provokes many profitable discussions. I am not a pacifist myself, but several of my club members are, and I believe youth should see every side of the picture."

Maybe the average "young delinquent" could not grasp Peace News at first, but if more copies were circulating among young people generally, it would add purpose to their pre-conception years.

Have you offered the paper to your local youth organisations? Peace News office would be glad to accept subscriptions for mailing to specified clubs, or young people. Copies of this issue for free distribution may be obtained for 2s. 6d. post free (enclose 4d. extra for 12 wrappers).

Billy Graham's missed opportunity

"Now Billy is here he might pay a visit to some of the towns and villages in East Anglia," writes Mr. Hill, General Secretary of the Boilermakers' Society in the Union's monthly bulletin. "While there he might persuade American troops to stop littering our countryside with illegitimate children." A member of the Graham team said in reply: "Not all our men are exactly the best ambassadors—but then, soldiers never are."

WHATEVER else Mr. Billy Graham may have said, or not said about war (and I have not so far discovered any particular reference to war at all in his published sayings), the answer given by one of his team in reply to a criticism of the behaviour of American soldiers in British villages, is tragically true.

"Soldiers are not good ambassadors." Of course they are not. They cannot be ambassadors simply because their job is to prepare themselves for the day when emissaries and envoys, politicians and plenipotentiaries have failed, or have become impatient and given up trying.

They are trained for a particular piece of work; the work of making war. That work will be referred to, by those whose conscience causes them to feel uncomfortable and guilty, as, "learning to defend the free world," but so far as the actual duties are concerned, it is so like training for war that neither the soldier, nor anyone else, will know the difference!

It is naturally impossible that such men could also be the negotiators, or mediators; there Mr. Graham's spokesman is undoubtedly right. But there is a kind of airy acceptance of the necessity for soldiers implicit in this answer given to the angry, unthinking criticism, by Mr. Hill, of the American troops in this country.

So far as that accusation is concerned it should be remembered first of all that these Americans are segregated in camps, perhaps for years, in places far from their own country, their homes, wives, children and friends.

It scarcely seems possible that it is not known that there are also British men, some of them mere boys, in just this position in such places as Kenya, Malaya, Korea and Germany. When on leave they have no personal or close friends to visit, no family connections, no home to go to.

It is true that soldiers are not naturally good ambassadors; it is also true that men are not naturally celibate, and for that matter neither are women, and unless all these Americans in East Anglia are being accused by Mr. Hill of rape, then obviously the unmarried mothers of American fathers' children, have been consenting partners before the event.

If instead of railing against the behaviour of men enduring a totally unnatural environment far from home; if, instead of expecting them to behave like monks under vows, these indignant voices could be raised against the

great wrong that is being done to men and women and children by the very fact of war preparation, one of the outcomes of which is this grave social evil, it would be more worth while than the greatest of evangelical campaigns.

It is not only in East Anglia, but in Germany, the Middle East and the Far East, where men are segregated in military camps, that illegitimate children are being brought into the world. It is to be deplored, but it is more than time that some consideration was given to the basic causes.

Here was a great opportunity for Billy Graham and his counsellors. It is extraordinary that a man should come to a country with such a lavishly advertised programme, to preach the gospel of love, and of obedience to love, and say nothing whatever of war and its relation to that gospel.

It has been reported that in answer to a question as to his views on Christian pacifism, he replied: "I don't understand Christian pacifism." If this is true then he would seem to be carrying out a campaign for following Jesus in a vast vacuum of unreality, which explains the weakness of the answer given to Mr. Hill.

If the famous evangelist has no understanding of pacifism, and evades any discussion of war and its accompanying evils, then he is totally out of touch with the minds and hearts of the common people today. Peace and war is the paramount issue, and it is still left for the pacifist to be the realist, and point the practical as well as the spiritual way to peace.

THE TREATMENT OF THE YOUNG DELINQUENT

By J. ARTHUR HOYLES. Demy 8vo. 18s. 6d. net.

This book places before the general reader the results of research and experiments, and the opinions of expert criminologists. Ministers, Magistrates, Probation Officers, Teachers, Youth Leaders and Social Workers will find much here to guide and inspire them; parents will learn to avoid the pitfalls which bring so many children to the juvenile courts. "A bold attempt to apply Christian principles to the treatment of the young offender. One greatly hopes that the book will get into the hands of those who administer our penal code."—The Methodist Recorder.

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By Ex-Chief Inspector REGINALD MORRISH. Paper covers 4s. net. Cloth Covers 6s. net.

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Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, by Peace News Ltd. Printed by The Goodwin Press (T.U.), 135 Fenchill Rd., London, N.4.

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